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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/. . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council*. The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

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2411th MEETING

Held in New York on Tuesday, 18 January 1983, at 5 p.m.

President: Mr. Atsu-Koffi AMEGA (Togo).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2411)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the Middle East:
   Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/15557)

The meeting was called to order at 5.20 p.m.

Opening statement by the President

1. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: It is not without a measure of apprehension that as the gavel, the symbol of the Council's authority, is passed to us so that we may preside over the work of this Council for the month of January, I accept the honour bestowed upon me and open the first meeting of the Council at the beginning of the year. In doing so I wish first to perform the pleasant duty that tradition imposes on me to express in my own name and on behalf of my delegation the best of wishes for the new year, and welcome.

2. To all of you, representatives of Member States, to the Secretary-General and to all officials of the United Nations Secretariat, I express the hope that the year that has just begun will be one of eternal spring, of success, of personal satisfaction and hope in the difficult work of the common quest for solutions to the problems that beset the world. I hope that this chamber will inspire members and alleviate fears of local or generalized conflagrations, because the world has its eyes turned upon them and their presence here alone suffices to give renewed life and hope to suffering mankind. Members will thus appreciate the role of the Security Council as that of a driving force at the "centre", as referred to in the Charter of the United Nations, "for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends", a driving force that also bears the main responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

3. It is with great pleasure that I bid a most warm welcome to the newly admitted members: Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe. I am convinced that they will make invaluable contributions to our common task and with their ideas and their experience enrich the Council as it discharges its responsibilities.

4. On behalf of my delegation I wish to pay the sister Republic of Zimbabwe the particular tribute it deserves for having broken from the chains of enslavement at the cost of bitter sacrifice, constructing a multiracial society and thus supporting the sacred principles of the United Nations. It is fitting that we should feel joy in welcoming it among us. It has gone through so much since the illegal régime of Southern Rhodesia. The independence of Zimbabwe, its admission to the United Nations, and, today, its entry into the Security Council are undeniably outstanding victories for the struggling peoples fighting for their national liberation, and for all peoples that cherish freedom, justice and peace. It is another reason for us to hope that in the near future other peoples still under colonial domination—the Namibian people comes to mind—will attain sovereignty and occupy their rightful places in the community of nations. I am convinced that the presence of Zimbabwe in the Council is another proof of its international credibility.

5. I welcome Nicaragua, a country striving to achieve its own particular identity—an aspiration of all developing countries. I am certain I can rely on its co-operation to help the Council settle, in a just and balanced manner, the problems it will face.

6. I also welcome Pakistan, a country whose dedication to the cause of the United Nations is well known, as is the important role it has played for peace in Asia. Its presence among us will indeed make a contribution.

7. Finally I wish to bid a cordial welcome to the two new non-permanent members from Western Europe —Malta, a European country that, like Togo, is a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, and the Netherlands, a State with which my country has sincere relations of friendship and co-operation under the ACP-EEC Lomé Conventions of 1975[1] and 1979.[2]

8. The present would be blind were it not lit by lights from the past. That is why, looking around me, I must

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think of Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda, countries which have just left the Council, each having left its personal mark on it. I must here express our heartfelt gratitude for their valuable contributions to the work of the Council, and I very sincerely pay a tribute to the climate of understanding which the representatives of those States brought to their efforts to find positive solutions to the complex problems before the Council. I wish to express our appreciation to the delegations of those countries, and especially to their representatives, Messrs. Noel Dorr, Masahiro Nisibori, Carlos Ozores Typaldos, Jaime de Piniés and Olara Otunnu. I wish them every success in their future activities, and I hope that the Council will continue to rely on them when necessary.

9. To Mr. Otunnu, my brother and friend, whose two years had a great impact on the life of the Council and the United Nations as a whole, and during which he showed his unquestionable talents in the performance of the highest responsibilities, I wish to express our warm appreciation—on behalf of my delegation, in my own name and in the name of all the African member States of the Council and the non-aligned caucus.

10. Speaking of that group in the Council leads me to think of another brother and friend, Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda, who is no longer among us. His presence in the Council was a source of inspiration for us, but his talents and his competence led him to higher functions. We wish him every success in his capacity as head of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of his country.

11. I wish to conclude by paying a well deserved tribute to my predecessor, Mr. Natorf, the representative of Poland, for the outstanding contribution he made to the Council last month.

12. Finally, addressing the entire Council, I wish to express my admiration for the good humour that characterizes our work, the spirit of tolerance and compromise that each of us has shown despite our ideological differences and our different interests. This augurs well for the work of the Council on the problems of the world. As a proverb of my country says, "If you see the notables speaking under the tree, the serenity of the village is assured".

13. In conclusion, I would recall what I said last year at a similar time. Speaking at the beginning of the Council's work for the year 1982, I expressed, on behalf of the President of the Togolese Republic, General Gnassingbe Eyadéma, Togo's resolve to abide by the rules that govern the Council's work and my own resolve to do everything within my means for the maintenance of international peace and security. I wish to reaffirm that resolve and I am now more than ever alive to it as my country accedes to the presidency of the Council.

14. I would wish to rely on all of you in the effective discharge of my functions as President. I therefore cherish the hope that co-operation among all the members of the Council and the President will be as efficient as it has been in the past and that the Council will, if necessary, adopt the appropriate measures to settle the problems that will come before it.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/15557)

15. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Lebanon in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Labaki (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table.

16. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for the period 18 October 1982 to 13 January 1983 [*S/15557*]. Members of the Council also have before them document S/15564, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by Jordan.

17. I call on the representative of Lebanon.

18. Mr. LABAKI (Lebanon) *(interpretation from French)*: For its first meeting this year, the Council has given to Lebanon the awesome honour of once more being the focus of its attention. Before turning to the subject on the agenda, however, may I be allowed to extend to you, Sir, my best wishes upon your assuming the presidency of the Council and as the representative of a country that has opened its doors to Lebanese emigration and to the economic development of which the Lebanese have been making their contribution, one appreciated by that country.

19. I also wish to pay a tribute to the representative of Poland, who presided over the Security Council during the month of December, and, at the same time, to the members of the Council, both permanent and non-permanent, who took part in its deliberations last year. I congratulate the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe, whose countries are seated on the Council for the first time. I thank the representatives of Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda who, during the past two years, often showed active sympathy for my country.

20. I thank the Secretary-General, whose report on UNIFIL has been submitted to the Council, and his colleagues, without whom our task would obviously have been more difficult. I am also mindful in these circumstances of the Governments of all the troop-contributing countries, of General Callaghan and of the forces under his command. I express my Government's gratitude to Nepal and Nigeria, which have withdrawn their troops from southern Lebanon after having fulfilled the mandate with which they had been entrusted for over four years. Lastly, I welcome the Finnish contingent that has just joined UNIFIL.

21. The President of the Lebanese Republic himself, in his statement here three months ago, asked the Council to extend the mandate of UNIFIL. At that time he said that: "The Council has neither deceived nor disappointed us... [and] vicissitudes... have prevented the Council's resolutions from taking on their historical dimensions" [*2400th meeting, para. 18*]. We consider that today the Council will be able to adopt a resolution that will enable UNIFIL to play, on Lebanese territory, a large role in the sageguarding of international peace and security—first of all, of course, the sageguarding of international peace and security in Lebanon and then, consequently, in the entire region and even beyond its geographic and historical limits.

22. The Lebanese Government is today asking the Council to extend the mandate of UNIFIL for a period of six months. Why six months? Because on the one hand we believe that six months will give UNIFIL, which is still a provisional force, a stability it could not enjoy in a shorter period of time and, also, that the tasks which await UNIFIL cannot perhaps be carried out in only one or two months and therefore require a longer period of time.

23. In the letter dated 13 January which I addressed both to you, Mr. President, and to the Secretary-General and which has been brought to the attention of members of the Council [*S/15557, annex I*], I also asked, upon the orders of my Government, that the zone of operation of UNIFIL be extended to the whole of Lebanese territory in order that UNIFIL could help the State to re-establish its authority in the north, as well as in the east and in the south, in cities, in urban areas, over international lines of communication, principally the land routes, and anywhere else it might lend its assistance to the Lebanese army, which must, in any event, quite obviously assume its own responsibilities. If we go along with the text that has been submitted to the Council and thus relinquish our initial request, we do so because, in the light of the existing situation, we wish to facilitate the task of the Council and enable it to vote unanimously to extend the mandate for six months.

24. UNIFIL's mandate as the Council has already defined it will continue in any case within the framework of permanent joint efforts between the Lebanese Government and the Secretariat of the United Nations.

25. It is well understood that UNIFIL will not have to intervene in cases of confrontation between armed Lebanese elements and, therefore, in no case will be involved in such confrontations. It is for the Lebanese security forces—and them alone—to act in those specific cases and go between factions of irregular combatants. I am recalling this in order to meet the concerns of the contributing States. For the rest, there will be co-ordination between UNIFIL and the Army. This co-ordination will be done by the Army with all the goodwill that UNIFIL has found on their part in the past. There will not be any problem in this regard. And I take this opportunity to draw the Council's attention to the important fact that there are never insoluble problems in places where the Lebanese State is exercising its sovereignty.

26. We are not asking for an increase in UNIFIL troop strength. However, in the light of future developments and the evolution of the situation, we may be called upon to make such a request, especially because many friendly countries have informed us that they are prepared to contribute to the international force.

27. We are convinced that our request will be favourably received by all States which desire stability in Lebanon and peace in the Middle East. To facilitate the Council's decision, moreover, we believe it our duty to call to its attention that our request concerning UNIFIL has been raised in the context of all the ongoing negotiations—as is known, there are more than one—which deal with the evacuation of non-Lebanese forces.

28. Lebanon must become tomorrow what it was yesterday and what it has managed to remain in the eight years of successive and often simultaneous wars which have been imposed upon it. It is a symbol and an example for all the moral and spiritual values which have honoured mankind and of which the Council is the guardian and guarantor. If we are asking the Council to help Lebanon, it is because Lebanon has proved, mainly in 1982 and especially perhaps between 23 August and 23 September of that historic year, that it was more viable and more solid than larger and apparently stronger entities—because crushing events did not crush us, because we have sustained blows that would have destroyed any artificial State, and because we have managed to stay on our feet.

29. In 1978 UNIFIL inaugurated its mandate in a climate of enthusiasm. Today its mandate must not be interrupted or even renewed in a spirit of resignation. Lebanon is not dead, waiting to be buried: it is not dying and does not need the assistance of some aberrant euthanasia to die. Our right to peace, security and life stems from our will to have these things; it is inalienable. We are not asking the Council to recon-

firm this to us. But, as a founding Member of the Organization, it is up to us to call upon the Council to assist us in this phase which is, to say the least, a very delicate one in our own existence. We do so today in words which the speedy turn of events makes even more insistent and solemn. We are awaiting the Council's reaction with confidence.

30. Mr. BATAINAH (Jordan) *(interpretation from Arabic)*: Allow me at the outset to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency for this month. Your well-known broad experience and diplomatic skill will enable the Council to attain the best results. We are happy to see the presidency occupied by a skilled and highly qualified diplomat. This is for us a source of gratification and confidence.

31. May I also express the warm thanks of my delegation to Mr. Natorf of Poland. His presidency will always be remembered by my delegation, as well as all the other Arab delegations, as a symbol of the introduction last month of the Arabic language in the Security Council as an official language and a working language.

32. In this context I wish to express, on behalf of my delegation and the Group of Arab States in the United Nations, great thanks and gratitude to all the members of the Council for the sincere co-operation and welcome response which have enabled the Arabic-speaking representatives to use their mother tongue in the Council's deliberations.

33. On this occasion I also wish to express to all colleagues who were here last year and left us this year, best wishes and sincere regards. We appreciate all the efforts they made in order to consolidate the purposes and principles of the United Nations and ensure the triumph of the principles of right, justice and peace. Their principled commitment to the Charter and their whole-hearted and clear support of just causes have deepened the prestige and credibility of the Council and contributed to enhancing the dwindling confidence in the United Nations. That accomplishment has endowed them and their countries with the quality of continued presence and perpetuity within the framework of the activity and work of the Council and made their absence from the Council just a mere formality.

34. This continuous presence of our former colleagues will be supported by the admission of new representatives who will perform the task at the same level of awareness and sense of responsibility towards safeguarding the principle of collective security, the settlement of disputes by peaceful means and respect for international instruments and norms, as well as towards support for the principles of justice, right, peace and stability and the promotion of trust in the United Nations, thus reinforcing its effectiveness in the work of curbing the dangers facing mankind in all fields, especially the threat of war and domination in all its forms, as well as in confronting all those who may dare to use force to dominate others and impose their will on them.

35. I wish whole-heartedly to welcome and congratulate the new members. I also wish them all success and I assure them of full and sincere co-operation in our common efforts within the framework of affirming the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

36. UNIFIL was formed and its mandate defined, in accordance with resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), in order to ensure the withdrawal of the invading Israeli forces and enable the Lebanese Government to exercise full sovereignty over its whole territory. As we can see now, nearly five years after the adoption of these two resolutions, the Israeli occupation in Lebanon has expanded. Furthermore, there are still practices that are incompatible with the principle of preserving the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon, especially on the part of Israel. It has hegemonistic and expansionist ambitions and seeks, through Lebanon, to attain strategic gains in the area to the detriment of that country. But, despite all these adverse developments, the role of UNIFIL remains essential in the implementation of the two main purposes for which the Force was formed. UNIFIL must be enabled to assume its reponsibility fully and effectively.

37. It is clear from the Secretary-General's report contained in document S/15557 of 13 January 1983, especially in paragraphs 8, 10, 11, 12, 13 and 14, that Israel is by various means preventing the international Force from discharging its responsibilities. Moreover, it restricts the movements of elements and units of UNIFIL. The Israeli forces occupying parts of Lebanon stormed the headquarters of the Senegalese troops. They also fired on soldiers of the Senegalese contingent and detained them. Moreover, Israel, in collaboration with some of the *de facto* forces in southern Lebanon, obstructed the work of the international Force and prevented it from discharging its responsibilities to protect the civilians in the area, responsibilities which the Council had entrusted it with by its resolution 523 (1982).

38. The Secretary-General's report clearly states which is the party mainly responsible for obstructing the implementation of resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), and which is the party that is seeking to prolong the Lebanese ordeal and contribute to depriving it of its sovereignty and independence.

39. In the circumstances, it is necessary for the Council fully to meet its responsibilities and denounce the Israeli practices and adopt all measures to implement the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations in order to deter the aggressor and preserve international peace and security.

40. In this framework the recommendation contained in paragraph 23 of the report of the Secretary-General becomes a practical step, rather than a necessary step, given the Council's commitment to assume its responsibility with regard to the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and the preservation of international peace and security.

41. On the basis of the foregoing, I hope that the Council will be able to adopt the draft resolution before the Council in document S/15564 containing Lebanon's request at this stage.

42. In conclusion, I take this opportunity to reaffirm my Government's unswerving support for Lebanon based on its absolute commitment to Lebanon's territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, as well as its ability to exercise full and complete sovereignty over its whole territory.

43. Mr. SCHELTEMA (Netherlands): Sir, since this is the first time that I have spoken in the Council, I should like to begin by congratulating you on your assumption of the presidency. We are confident that, under your expert guidance and with your skill and well-known diplomatic experience, the Council is in the best of hands and we wish you good luck during the period of your presidency.

44. Although last month my country was, of course, not yet a member of the Council, I wish also to take this opportunity to congratulate and pay my compliments to my colleague from Poland on the way he conducted the business of the Council during the previous month.

45. Mr. President, I want in particular to thank you for your warm words of welcome to my country as a new member of the Council. It is a great honour for my Government and, indeed, for my mission and delegation, to serve in the Security Council for the coming two years. I can assure you and the other members of the Council that we take our membership very seriously and that we shall endeavour to discharge our duties as a member of the Council to the best of our abilities. We shall heavily depend on the friendship and co-operation of all our colleagues in the Council. I am happy to be here as the representative of my country among so many familiar faces and I thank you, Sir, for your kind words.

46. Finally, I take this opportunity to reciprocate and offer our best wishes for this year to you and to the members of the Council.

47. I now turn to the Force. UNIFIL has been and still is a stabilizing element in southern Lebanon. The withdrawal of UNIFIL at the present time could have grave destabilizing consequences for the area where it is now operating and constitute a setback for the Government of Lebanon in its efforts to restore peace and reassert its authority throughout the country. In our view, UNIFIL should remain in the area so as to be available to play a role in any future security arrangements.

48. Although UNIFIL has been able to play a very useful role in the area, the Force, for well-known reasons, has been prevented from the beginning from fully deploying itself in its intended area of operation. The latest report of the Secretary-General again confirms the difficult circumstances under which UNIFIL is now obliged to operate because of the continued presence and activities of the Israel Defence Forces and the *de facto* forces within the area. In paragraph 11 of his report the Secretary-General recalls the serious incidents which took place following the take-over by the Norwegian battalion of the area formerly controlled by the Nepalese battalion. These incidents and other acts of harassment, as well as the ongoing practice of limiting the freedom of movement of UNIFIL personnel, are clearly intolerable. They obviously undermine UNIFIL's ability to carry out its mandate. We therefore urgently call on the Government of Israel to respect UNIFIL's mandate and stop hindering the Force from performing its duties.

49. As far as the Netherlands participation in UNIFIL is concerned, I should like to point also to the increasing financial burden on my country. Members of the Council are aware of the shortfall of some $152 millions in the UNIFIL Special Account. In his latest report, the Secretary-General has pointed out that this situation in placing an unfair and increasing burden on the troop-contributing countries. We very much hope that Member States will heed his urgent call to pay their assessed contributions.

50. As regards the future of the Force, the Netherlands Government will view any continued participation in UNIFIL in the light of new developments in Lebanon, having in mind in particular the negotiations between Lebanon and Israel and contacts with other parties concerned on the withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon. It may be that the outcome will lead to a reaffirmation of the mandate contained in resolution 425 (1978). In that case, my Government will view its future participation in the peace-keeping Force in the light of the following three general objectives: first, some noticeable progress should be made in the efforts of the Government of Lebanon to establish and increase its authority in the country, since UNIFIL's role in assisting the Government of Lebanon in this process of regaining strength and authority can only be temporary; secondly, there should be improvement in the prospect of withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon, since it is clear that without this prospect the first objective cannot be met; and, thirdly, a future role for UNIFIL in any future security arrangement in southern Lebanon is feasible only if the Force will be able to operate effectively in an area that forms one uninterrupted whole up to the Lebanese-Israeli border. This leaves no room for the presence of any

unauthorized foreign troops or *de facto* forces in the area. Only then will UNIFIL be able to carry out its original mandate effectively.

51. The Netherlands very much welcomes the fact that negotiations are now in progress on the withdrawal issue. A speedy outcome of these talks ensuring the withdrawal of all foreign forces or armed elements from Lebanon is of course highly desirable.

52. In connection with these negotiations, the Government of Lebanon has requested an extension of the UNIFIL area of operations to cover the whole country for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of all non-Lebanese forces and armed elements from Lebanon, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority. The Netherlands will take this request into careful consideration.

53. However, as has been pointed out by the Secretary-General himself, it is evident that only when the current negotiations are completed will it be possible to define in detail the future role of UNIFIL as envisaged by the Government of Lebanon. The Netherlands cannot accept any new UNIFIL mandate in which the peace-keeping operations of the Force are not clearly defined. Moreover, my Government is of the opinion that any new mandate for UNIFIL should be based on the objective of restoring the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

54. According to the original terms of reference of the mandate, as contained in Council resolution 425 (1978), the Force was established "for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area". Although the circumstances have changed, these terms of reference now seem to be more relevant today than ever.

55. For its part, the Netherlands will continue to do its utmost to assist the Government of Lebanon in restoring peace and security in this war-torn country. We believe that a Lebanon once again restored to prosperity and living in peace with all its neighbours will also advance the wider goal of peace and international security in the Middle East.

56. The Netherlands will therefore cast a positive vote on the draft resolution now before the Council and my country will continue its participation in UNIFIL.

57. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: I should like to inform members of the Council that I have just received letters from the representatives of Israel and the Syrian Arab Republic in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Blum (Israel) and Mr. El-Fattal (Syrian Arab Republic) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

58. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: The next speaker is the representative of Israel. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

59. Mr. BLUM (Israel): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the current month. We are delighted to see a diplomat of such outstanding qualities and high calibre in the Council's Chair and we are fully confident that you, Sir, will discharge your onerous duties and responsibilities with your customary skill and aplomb.

60. May I also take this opportunity to congratulate the new members of the Council who have joined it at the beginning of this month, while at the same time placing on record our appreciation to the five non-permanent members who concluded their terms last month.

61. Israel's position regarding the situation in Lebanon in general, and in the southern part of that country in particular, is well known and has been stated on numerous occasions in the course of the deliberations of the Council. That position remains unchanged.

62. I also wish to place on record my Government's position that the draft resolution about to be adopted by the Council today does not change in any manner UNIFIL's existing mandate, subject, of course, to the observation made by the Secretary-General in paragraph 17 of his report dated 14 October 1982 [*S/15455*], in which he rightly stated that recent events in Lebanon had "radically altered the circumstances in which UNIFIL was established and under which it had functioned since March 1978".

63. Over the past months the Government of Israel has repeatedly stated that, in the new circumstances surrounding the situation of Lebanon, UNIFIL, as established in 1978, has outlived its usefulness and its presence is no longer called for in southern Lebanon.

64. My Government believes that the security arrangements deemed necessary by Israel and Lebanon can and should be arrived at through negotiations between the Governments of the two countries. As members of the Council are well aware, negotiations are now in progress on a variety of topics, and they have been referred to also by the Secretary-General in paragraph 19 of his report of 13 January 1983. Those

negotiations are aimed, *inter alia*, at ensuring that Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity be restored within that country's internationally recognized boundaries, while at the same time providing for the necessary arrangements that would permanently and reliably preclude the possibility of hostile action against Israel and its citizens from Lebanese soil.

65. In this connection may I draw the attention of the Council to paragraph 20 of the Secretary-General's report, in which he states that "only when the current negotiations are completed will it be possible to define in detail the future role of UNIFIL".

66. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: It is my understanding that the Council is now ready to vote on the draft resolution proposed by Jordan, contained in document S/15564. If I hear no objection, I will put the draft resolution to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Against: None.

Abstaining: Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 529 (1983)).

67. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: The Secretary-General wishes to make a statement. I call on him.

68. The SECRETARY-GENERAL: I have taken full note of the resolution just adopted by the Council. In implementing this resolution, the Council may be assured that I and my colleagues will do our utmost to make UNIFIL's presence as effective as possible in the present circumstances in carrying out the tasks assigned to it by the Council. I realize that the present situation is of an interim nature. For the time being, therefore, UNIFIL will continue to perform the interim tasks endorsed by the Council after the June events. In particular, it will assist the Government of Lebanon in assuring the security of all the inhabitants of its area without any discrimination. In this connection UNIFIL will endeavour to the extent possible to prevent local armed and uniformed groups from operating in its area unless they are authorized by the central Government. I hope that all the parties concerned will co-operate fully with UNIFIL in the performance of these tasks.

69. In this context I wish to point out to the Council that, with the departure of the Nigerian contingent and the detailing of 482 men of the French infantry battalion to another task, the Force is well below the strength of 7,000 authorized for it. I propose to study this problem carefully with the Commander of UNIFIL in order to determine what measures should be taken to maintain the Force at an adequate strength. I shall be reporting to the Council on this matter in due course for whatever action we may consider necessary.

70. I shall, of course, remain in close touch with the Government of Lebanon and all those concerned in the Lebanese situation with a view to keeping the Council informed of developments affecting UNIFIL.

71. Mr. LICHENSTEIN (United States of America): Mr. President, I shall not attempt to match the eloquence of your opening remarks at today's meeting. I shall simply extend to you the congratulations and the warm welcome of my delegation and of the Government of the United States as you assume the presidency of the Council for this month. The warmth of friendship and the respect that we feel for you, Sir, both reflect and are reflected in the warmth of our friendship and respect for the country, the Government and the people you represent so ably.

72. I wish to take this occasion also to pay a deserved tribute to your predecessor, the representative of Poland, for the excellence and judiciousness of his leadership in the month of December last.

73. In my country we often speak of the dear departed. I hasten to say that we usually do so in circumstances somewhat more dramatic and somewhat more terminal than the present ones. Surely our five dear departed colleagues have not departed all that far. It was a pleasure and a personal and official privilege for me, for Mrs. Kirkpatrick and for the entire United States delegation to work with the five colleagues who have now left this Council. We extend the hand of collegiality to their five replacements. We trust that all of them will tackle the arduous tasks of the Council with seriousness and with dedication to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

74. The United States joined enthusiastically in the action of the Council today in extending, at the request of the Government of Lebanon, the mandate of UNIFIL for another six months. The United States strongly supports the objectives of the Government of Lebanon to restore its sovereignty throughout its territory and to secure the withdrawal of all external forces from Lebanon. Renewal of UNIFIL's mandate tends, in our judgement, to reaffirm international support for these goals. The United States believes, moreover, that renewal of UNIFIL's mandate can be a positive element in the negotiations between the Government of Lebanon and other parties in the Middle East. These negotiations, in which the United States in playing an active part, are designed precisely to restore Lebanon's full sovereignty and territorial integrity and to prevent any repetition of the recent tragic conflict in a way that will ensure peace and security for Lebanon and for all of its neighbours.

75. It is not yet possible to define with precision the nature of the role UNIFIL may be called upon to play in the arrangements under negotiation. However, by acting to extend UNIFIL's mandate for six months, the Council has wisely ensured that UNIFIL will be available to assist in the peace process.

76. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian)*: Since this is the first meeting of the Council in the new year, I should like first of all to take this opportunity, on behalf of the Soviet delegation, to extend a hearty welcome to the Council table to the representatives of States that have been elected as new non-permanent members of the Council, the representatives of Malta, the Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan and Zimbabwe. In welcoming the new non-permanent members to the Council, we are fully secure in our expectation that their membership in the Council will bring much that is of use and value to our work. I am happy to note that the ranks of the members of the Council have been swelled by four States members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. This is especially important in the light of the growing contribution made by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries to improving the international situation and to eliminating and preventing crisis situations. The practical steps taken by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries along those lines deserve acknowledgement and support by all States. It is clear, moreover, that the membership in the Council of eight States representing the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries lays upon them a special responsibility and makes it possible for them to play an important role in the Council's activities in realizing the goals and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

77. The Soviet delegation would also like to pay a tribute to those countries whose membership in the Council came to an end this past December. We feel that it is fitting to note, in this connection, the fact that Ireland, Japan, Panama, Spain and Uganda, as non-permanent members of the Council, did a great deal to achieve mutual understanding and to find constructive ways for solving the multifaceted and acute problems with which the Council had to deal during the past two years. We would wish the delegations of those countries, and particularly the heads of those delegations, success in their further work in the United Nations and at other diplomatic postings in the future.

78. We would like to express our gratitude to the representative of the fraternal Polish People's Republic, Comrade Wlodzimierz Natorf, for his skilful guidance of the Council's work during the month of December last year. In that lofty post, Mr. Natorf showed extraordinary diplomatic qualities that significantly contributed to ensuring the successful solution of a number of important questions that came before the Council at the end of last year.

79. Allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on assuming your lofty post for the month of January. We are certain that your well-known diplomatic experience and skill will promote the effective implementation by the Council of its obligations. The delegation of the Soviet Union notes with satisfaction the fruitful co-operation we have enjoyed with you in the Council, and we will continue to be prepared to join in the closest and most business-like co-operation in all questions involving the activities of the Council and of other United Nations bodies.

80. Still availing myself of this opportunity, I should like to reaffirm the Soviet Union's firm support for the efforts of the United Nations in the main area of its activity, namely, the maintenance and strengthening of peace and international security, the prevention of nuclear war, halting the arms race, continuing and deepening détente and developing comprehensive co-operation between States in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter.

81. Today the Council has before it once again the question of extending the mandate of UNIFIL. This is of course linked to the fact that the problem of Lebanon, which arose as a result of massive Israeli aggression against that country, remains unsettled, and a significant part of Lebanese territory is still under Israeli occupation.

82. It is well known that the Force was established after the Israeli invasion of the southern region of that country in March 1978. It was precisely for purposes of eliminating the consequences of that aggression by Israel that the Council felt it was possible to meet Lebanon's request and send UNIFIL forces there. The mandate of those forces, defined in resolution 425 (1978), provides that their functions include "confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area"—that is, the region under Israeli occupation.

83. No less known is the fact that, as a result of the flagrant scorn shown by Israel for the provisions of that and other relevant Council resolutions, those resolutions have not been implemented.

84. Last June, under conditions where the consequences of the Israeli invasion of 1978 had not yet been eliminated, Tel Aviv carried out a new massive aggression against Lebanon, occupying more than 40 per cent of its territory.

85. Everyone still has fresh in mind the crimes of the Israeli occupiers on Lebanese soil, the vicious acts committed by them against a defenceless Lebanese and Palestinian civilian population, the unheard-of cynicism with which the Israeli forces treated some UNIFIL forces and some United Nations truce observers. It is a secret to no one that all that became possible thanks only to the comprehensive support and assistance given to Israel by its "strate-

gic partner" and protector, the United States, which has generously provided the aggressor, Israel, with weapons and political and diplomatic protection.

86. With the direct support and co-participation of its overseas "strategic ally" and protector, Israel has used crude pressure and military blackmail in an attempt now to impose on Lebanon conditions of a separate peace that would in fact reinforce the results of the criminal attack by Tel Aviv on that Arab State. In other words, what we are taking about is an undisguised—one might say, classic—attempt by the aggressor to enjoy the fruits of its aggression and to legalize the use of military force for purposes of achieving far-reaching expansionist goals. Once again we see evidence of that in today's statement by the representative of Israel.

87. The Council, from the very outset of the New Israeli aggression in Lebanon, has taken a clear and precise position on this matter. In its fundamental resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982), as well as in subsequent decisions, the Council unambiguously demanded an end to all military actions in Lebanon and the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory. References to those resolutions are contained in all decisions of the Council adopted since last June on the question of extending UNIFIL's mandate. And that is not at all an accident, since the implementation of those resolutions is the key to a solution of the problems in Lebanon. Any attempt to lessen, or in general to nullify, the significance of resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982) would essentially amount to a revision and an undermining of the entire basis for settling the Lebanese question as contained in the decisions of the Council.

88. It would be appropriate in this connection to mention another no less substantive side of this issue. As has been justly pointed out in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization in 1982:

> "... resolutions, particularly those unanimously adopted by the Security Council, should serve as a springboard for governmental support and determination and should motivate their policies outside the United Nations... the best resolution in the world will have little practical effect unless Governments of Member States follow it up with the appropriate support and action."[1]

89. Clearly, there is no need to talk about the fact that it is the direct duty of the Council to strive for the unswerving implementation of the decisions it has taken, especially when we talk about unanimously adopted resolutions, as is the case with resolutions 508 (1982) and 509 (1982). That is precisely how the Soviet delegation views the question of the presence of the Force in Lebanon.

90. On the basis of all that I have said, the Soviet delegation felt that it was possible not to object to the extension of UNIFIL's mandate for the next period, since the goals and tasks of the Force continue to be defined by the mandate which was established for UNIFIL in the Council's relevant resolution, namely resolution 425 (1978), and subsequent decisions of the Council on this question.

91. In connection with some statements which have been made in the Council, especially those of the United States and Israel, we should like particularly to emphasize that it would be inadmissible for the Council to depart from its previous decisions on the necessity of the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. One cannot equate the forces of the Israeli aggressors in Lebanon with the presence there of Arab forces, which are in that country under an agreement with the Government of Lebanon and in keeping with decisions taken at pan-Arab meetings. It would be completely illegal to give United Nations forces unaccustomed functions which might lead to interference by armed forces of the United Nations in the internal affairs of Lebanon in contravention of the Charter of the United Nations.

92. Mr. TINOCO FONSECA (Nicaragua) *(interpretation from Spanish)*: Sir, I congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for the month of January. Under your able leadership, we shall no doubt attain the goals which our lofty mission calls for. I also wish to thank you for the kind words you addressed in your introductory statement to the people of Nicaragua.

93. I wish to congratulate also the representative of Poland on the excellent work he did last month as President.

94. At this time I wish to convey a friendly greeting to our dear friend, the Secretary-General, with whose performance we have always stood in solidarity and whose many concerns we share about the international situation in which we live and about the need to strengthen the role of the United Nations and of the Security Council in order to attain international peace and security.

95. I also wish to congratulate those countries which have left the Council and, at the same time, extend our congratulations to those countries which, together with Nicaragua, have been elected to take their place: Malta, the Netherlands, Pakistan and Zimbabwe.

96. A special greeting is also extended to those non-permanent members that are entering the second year of their membership in the Council, as well as to the permanent members of the Council. We have already had occasion to co-operate with many of them at other levels and on various occasions in the search for solutions and initiatives with which to meet various problems—a co-operation which we now hope to

deepen. We express our readiness to act in like manner with those countries which share our responsibilities and with which we will be working for the first time.

97. To all of them I wish to express our appreciation for their support and trust with regard to our candidacy and for their congratulations on our having been elected members of the Council. We truly realize the magnitude of this responsibility and we shall endeavour to fulfil our share of it.

98. Nicaragua occupies a seat in the Council for the second time. While the historical circumstances and the philosophy which inspires free Nicaragua are today very different from those at the beginning of the 1970's, when our country was resisting the odious Somoza dictatorship, as a free and sovereign country we now come to this supreme organ in our two-fold condition as a Latin American country and as a member of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. We wish to remain faithful to what both groups represent: to be spokesmen and to represent the views and interests of the Movement to which we belong in every situation or dispute which may come before the Council and, at the same time, to defend the interests of Latin America and the Caribbean, where the principles of non-alignment have a natural raison d'être and where serious problems are shared by the vast majority of the members of the Movement.

99. This has been clearly shown by the fact that Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, was chosen as the seat of the Special Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned Countries devoted to the consideration of the situation in Latin America and the Caribbean, which was held recently.

100. I must also refer to the means available to us in order to realize these purposes and wishes. I am referring to the very problem of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations and the Security Council. It is the political role of the States Members of the Organization which imbues its organs with life. In this regard we share the concerns expressed in the latest report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, in which the Secretary-General notes the dangers found in the repeated non-compliance or lack of support for resolutions and decisions of United Nations bodies on the part of some of its Member States and, in like manner, the trend to escape the competence of the Council on matters of vast importance *vis-à-vis* the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations. We believe that the ideas expressed therein are based on a realistic assessment of the international situation and contain a noble concern for returning to this body the role for which it was created at the San Francisco Conference, that is, the attainment of peace and stability for mankind.

101. With regard to the particular problem which we are considering at this meeting, I wish to reiterate my country's traditional policy of solidarity with the just cause of the Arab people. We witnessed with horror and outrage the act of aggression committed against Lebanon last year by Israeli forces, an act which led our country to take diplomatic measures.

102. We have also read the Secretary-General's report on UNIFIL and held consultations with various members of the Force.

103. It is the hope of our delegation that the resolution the Council has just adopted will be a positive element in consolidating the role of the United Nations with regard to the Middle East question and that this will lead to the alleviation or halting of the suffering of the peoples of Palestine and Lebanon.

104. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): Mr. President, I feel greatly privileged to be participating in the first formal meeting of the Council this year after Pakistan's election as a member of the Council.

105. First of all I should like to convey to you, Sir, our sincere congratulations on your assumption of the presidency for the month of January. With your country's participation in last year's work, the Council greatly benefited from your wide experience and knowledge of political affairs. We feel confident therefore that you will guide the work of the Council this month with great distinction and success.

106. At the same time I should like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Natorf of Poland, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the work of the Council last month.

107. I am deeply touched by the welcome which you have extended to Pakistan on the assumption of its membership in the Council and wish to thank you for the kind words with which you have greeted us. I also wish to convey our sincere thanks to the other representatives who have expressed similar sentiments in welcoming us to the Council.

108. Pakistan is not new to the Council, having served on it on three previous occasions. I assure you, Sir, that as in the past our participation in the Council will demonstrate our dedication to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Not only in the United Nations but also in other international forums, such as the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, to which Pakistan belongs, we have consistently pursued the cause of freedom, peace and progress. We have judged each issue independently on the basis of the universally accepted principles enshrined in the Charter and have firmly opposed the contravention of those principles wherever it has occurred. We are happy to have the opportunity to serve on the Security Council once again and are thankful to the States Members of the United Nations that expressed their confidence and trust in Pakistan by electing it to the Council. We

greatly look forward to working in close co-operation and harmony with our colleagues on the Council in the advancement of our common objectives and endeavours for the maintenance of international peace and security. We shall also exert ourselves fully towards strengthening the hands of the Secretary-General in enhancing the effectiveness of the United Nations.

109. Turning to the subject of our meeting today, we are gratified at the adoption of resolution 529 (1983) extending the mandate of UNIFIL. We wish to express our gratitude to the countries that have contributed contingents to form UNIFIL, a force which, in addition to the original mandate, is discharging a vital responsibility in emergency relief and construction in Lebanon with the consent of the Lebanese Government. This role has assumed even greater significance following the ravages of Israeli aggression against that country. The presence of UNIFIL is undoubtedly a critical factor in the realization of our hope for the restoration of conditions of peace and tranquillity in Lebanon. The Force is carrying out its mandate in an admirable manner under extremely difficult circumstances; for this it deserves our deep appreciation and full support.

110. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): As you may imagine, Mr. President, today is a memorable one for my country, for me personally and for all Maltese people throughout the world. For the first time we assume an elected seat on the Council, nearly 20 years after our admission to the United Nations and almost 40 years after the birth of the Organization. My only regret is that for us to join, others had to join the ranks of—in the English phrase used by our United States colleague—the dear departed. We compliment them on their work and wish them continued success. We in Malta look on this occasion with awe tinged with realistic expectations of and respect for the Council.

111. We know that the search for true peace is the greatest challenge of our time. Malta is a small country, but we are firmly committed to rendering our fair contribution. We are the first to recognize our modest means, but we are prepared to go beyond the normal call of duty in discharging the responsibility which we have sought and which has been granted us. We shall consider all matters before us with the sole and objective concern of solving problems peacefully and justly. We shall be principled in stating without fear or favour, honestly and in full, the truth as we see it and what we feel should be done for progress.

112. We recognize that national independence remains the most powerful force of our times and that it cannot be infringed without serious consequences. But we believe equally firmly that international organization is necessary and requires constant strengthening. We sense more and more the revulsion of people throughout the world with respect to the misery of war; we seek to respond to the universal yearning for the methods of justice and peace in international relations through the United Nations and principally through the Security Council.

113. In ancient times Malta was the peak of a land-bridge joining Europe to Africa. Today it is our openly declared foreign policy to serve as a bridge between the civilizations that forged our present national consciousness—the ancient civilizations of the Middle East, Europe and Africa. We are at the geographic centre of these great continents and out outlook is further mellowed by the gentle waves and the balmy winds of the Mediterranean Sea.

114. It therefore augurs well for Malta that you, Sir, a son of Africa, should happen to preside over the Council in the first month of our membership. It is also a happy coincidence that your immediate predecessor was a son of Europe, the representative of Poland, whose history has been at the centre of European affairs for so much of its time.

115. I feel especially encouraged that our very first day in the deliberations of the Council coincides with your presidency, Sir, and I congratulate you on your assumption of office. A relatively small country, peaceful, friendly and non-aligned, Togo has done much to promote good-neighbourliness in its own region. This noble dedication finds due expression in your national anthem in the stirring opening words: "*La paix, la paix, la paix, ô togolais*".

116. Your gracious words of welcome and greetings, which we warmly reciprocate, and your generously friendly disposition, are a source of great encouragement to me which I shall carry in my mind and in my heart in the course of the strenuous 24 months ahead. It is a tangible tribute to your efforts that today's resolution was adopted by consensus, and it is an inspiration for us to work for consensus in the future.

117. As I look around this table, I realize with a keen degree of pleasurable anticipation that in the heavy burden that lies ahead I shall benefit from the advice and the generous disposition of friends and colleagues whom I have had the privilege of knowing for several years and whose experience, wisdom and dedication I have already had many occasions to encounter, to admire and to cherish.

118. Mr. President, Mr. Secretary-General, distinguished colleagues, in deepest appreciation of the kind sentiments expressed about my country today, I would assure you that I will be your dedicated and indefatigable collaborator as collectively we try to improve the prospects for universal peace and security in the months ahead and as we grapple with the known and unknown challenges before us.

119. On the particular question before us today, I wish to express appreciation for the analytical report of the Secretary-General and for the eloquent state-

ment by the representative of Lebanon. We found them extremely helpful for our consideration.

120. My Government and people are at one with the people of Lebanon and its Government. We fully sympathize with their preoccupations.

121. The words of the President of Lebanon, describing his country, in his statement before the Council of 18 October last still ring in our ears: "Lebanon, never committing aggression but, alas, all too often the victim of aggression"* [*2400th meeting, para. 17*]. The Council will wish to respond to that appeal in a timely and appropriate manner.

122. But it is first and foremost from Israel that a constructive and imaginative response should be forthcoming. Israel has unfortunately created havoc in Lebanon. The action it took in the past was completely illegal. The continuation of the presence of its troops in Lebanon is in itself an act of aggression and coercion which the Council cannot condone.

123. An imaginative and positive response by Israel on the question of the withdrawal of its troops from Lebanon, although only a small step, will pay rich dividends, just as its present and past policies have on so many occasions severely set back the prospects of peace. My own country is working and will continue to work for that peace, through a just resolution of the plight of the Palestinian people. That is the heart of the matter. That is where consistent and concentrated action is necessary.

124. I therefore express the hope that the current negotiations will reap rapid and positive results and that Israel will commence its long overdue withdrawal of troops, so that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon will now be restored and will be respected in the future, as it should have been in the past.

125. I will end my first statement here by quoting a few verses from Malta's national poet, Dun Karm. I believe his words admirably reflect, simply but serenely, the purpose and the duty of the Council —so much so that if ever the Council were to have its own anthem these same words could adequately apply:

"I love peace, whose smile fills heaven and earth with joy:
I do not love war because sadness, fear and death are its aftermath.
I love unity which knows no anger, I love justice and truth, I love the strength that works for all. But I do not love war."**

126. Mr. MASHINGAIDZE (Zimbabwe): Mr. President, the delegation of the Republic of Zimbabwe wishes fully to associate itself with the many others who have already congratulated you on your assumption of the presidency for the month of January. Your wide diplomatic experience, skill and wisdom, which are well known, give us a great deal of confidence that under your direction this meeting of the Council will come to a fruitful conclusion.

127. Secondly, we wish to pay a tribute to your predecessor as President, Mr. Natorf, representative of the Polish People's Republic, for the highly commendable manner in which he directed the deliberations of the Council.

128. Our last tribute goes to our own predecessors, the outgoing non-permanent members of the Council, for their respective contributions to the noble efforts of the Council in ensuring peace and security for mankind. As we assume our own new and challenging responsibilities as members of the Council, we feel very inspired by the exemplary manner in which they discharged their responsibilities in the Council.

129. Mr. President, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude your very warm words of welcome to our delegation this afternoon and those of the other members of the Council. We should like to assure you and all those who elected us to the Council of our determination to do our utmost to justify this confidence in us.

130. This meeting of the Council has been occasioned by the need to consider, as a matter of extreme urgency, the question regarding the renewal or extension of the mandate of UNIFIL, which is due to expire on 19 January. A request to this effect was addressed to you, Mr. President, on 13 January by the Lebanese Government through the representative of Lebanon [*S/15557, annex I*]. The case for the renewal of the mandate of UNIFIL has also been clearly stated by the Secretary-General in his report of 13 January [*S/15557*]. Those two documents, for which we are extremely grateful, furnish very useful details about the situation in the UNIFIL area as well as information concerning the activities of the Force during the period covered by the Secretary-General's report.

131. It is very clear from the statement of the representative of Lebanon, the Secretary-General's report and other reliable sources, as well as from newspaper accounts, that the situation in Lebanon in general, and in southern Lebanon in particular, is still very far from safe. The violation of that unhappy country's territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence and the grave threat to regional and international peace and security, both of which prompted the adoption by the Council of its resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978), still continue unabated. The invasion of Lebanon by Israel in 1978 has since become a permanent phenomenon, as southern Lebanon still remains under Israeli occupation. In the areas under Israeli occupation the repression and, often, the

*Quoted in French by the speaker.
** Quoted in Maltese by the speaker.

killing of Lebanese and Palestinian civilians also continue.

132. It is also clear that, for all its earnest efforts and endeavours to assume full control of the security situation in its country through its own army, the Government of Lebanon has not yet realized its objectives. In this regard it is being frustrated by Israel's refusal to pull out its occupying forces.

133. What is even more disturbing, as the Secretary-General's report makes clear, is the fact that Israel has no intention to respect the resolutions and decisions of the Council. Its defence forces not only continue to occupy Lebanon in defiance of the Council, they are also harassing and obstructing UNIFIL units which are carrying out the mandate of the Council. The presence and activities of the Israeli created, trained and equipped armed groups euphemistically called village militias are also a source of danger in that area.

134. For all these reasons, we feel that Lebanon's request for the extension of UNIFIL's mandate and the Secretary-General's recommendations along the same lines merit this Council's positive response. Accordingly, we support the extension of the mandate for six months.

135. Finally, we should like to pay a richly deserved tribute to all the men and women serving in UNIFIL for their dedication to peace and for the commendable manner in which they have carried out their dangerous tasks. We salute them and wish them well in their mission of peace.

136. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: The representative of Israel has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply. I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

137. Mr. BLUM (Israel): We have listened with great interest to the statement of the representative of the Soviet Union. We found his statement most revealing on several counts. First of all, we were gratified to hear in his statement a reference to Council resolution 425 (1978), bearing in mind the fact that his country did not support that resolution, nor did it support any subsequent resolution extending the mandate of UNIFIL. What is more, the Soviet Union has not contributed one single penny to UNIFIL's operation. Secondly, there was a reference in the Soviet statement to what the Soviet representative called "military blackmail". We have taken due note of that phrase, coming as it did from the lips of an expert. For, after all, the representative of the Soviet Union represents here the valiant peace-keepers of Prague, Budapest, Warsaw and Kabul. Thirdly, the Soviet statement was also most revealing because it demonstrated once again to the Council the Soviet Union's real role in the Middle East. We in the Middle East have been aware of that role all along, and we know that whenever the prospects for peace in the Middle East improve the Soviet Union is worried. Judging from the tone and tenor of the Soviet statement, I believe I am entitled to conclude that prospects for peace in our region have improved, and I find that conclusion most gratifying.

138. To sum up, the Soviet statement was nothing but an act of provocation. I wish to assure the representative of the Soviet Union and members of the Council that we shall not fall into this trap of provocation and we shall not be provoked.

139. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: The representative of the Soviet Union has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply, and I now call upon him.

140. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian)*: The argument of the representative of Israel as to who supports and who does not support which resolutions of the Council has led me to a very interesting thought.

141. As is known, the representatives of Israel and also the representatives of the United States like to refer to resolution 242 (1967) of the Council, thereby implying that they support that resolution. In this connection, I have three specific questions to put to the representative of Israel.

142. First of all, it is known that Israel illegally occupied East Jerusalem. Is that in keeping with resolution 242 (1967) or is it a crude violation of that resolution? Secondly, it is known that Israel illegally occupied the Syrian Golan Heights. Is that in keeping with resolution 242 (1967) or is that a flagrant violation of that resolution? Thirdly, it is known that Israel is carrying out a creeping annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip. Is that in keeping with resolution 242 (1967) or is that a violation of that resolution?

143. Those are my three specific questions on a specific resolution which the representatives of Israel and the United States refer to. I would be grateful to the representative of Israel if he were prepared to answer those questions. If he is not prepared to do that, I would welcome a relevant clarification from his blood brother, the representative of the United States. Unfortunately, I cannot refer to a blood sister of Mr. Blum, who is not present in this room today.

144. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: The representative of Israel has asked to speak in exercise of his right of reply, and I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

145. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The diversionary tactics of the Soviet representative are well known to all of us. As I assured him and members of the Council, we shall not fall into the trap of provocation which he has set here.

146. The questions that he has raised are not on the agenda of the Council here tonight. I want to assure him that I am fully prepared to answer each and every one of those questions at the appropriate time. By the same token, the questions relating to resolution 425 (1978) and UNIFIL are on our agenda, and the Soviet representative has studiously avoided any reference to those questions. He has not responded to my queries with regard to his position on resolution 425 (1978), past and present, as well as to the questions of military blackmail—and that was his language.

147. So I would leave it at that, assuring the Soviet representative that the questions that he has raised will be answered at the proper time and place.

148. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: The representative of the Soviet Union has asked to be allowed to speak again in exercise of the right of reply, and I call on him.

149. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) *(interpretation from Russian)*: The representative of Israel said that he would be prepared to reply to all three of my questions when that item was on the Council's agenda. I should like to draw his attention to the fact that the agenda for today's meeting is entitled "The situation in the Middle East"; therefore, he could ask to be allowed to speak again and answer the substantive question.

150. The PRESIDENT *(interpretation from French)*: The Council has concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 7.20 p.m.

NOTES

[1] Convention on trade and aid between the European Community and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, signed at Lomé on 28 February 1975. For the text, see A/AC.176/7.

[2] Signed on 31 October 1979. For the text, see *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

[3] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1* (A/37/1), p. 3.

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